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# The Philippine Problem To-Day

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An Address delivered at the Seventh Annual  
Meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League

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Moorfield Storey

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PUBLISHED BY  
THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST LEAGUE  
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# The Philippine Problem

## To-Day

It is very pleasant to meet you all again and to rejoice with you in the progress of our cause, for this has been a year of marked advance. The wave of imperialism, which reached this country in 1898 and for awhile threatened to drown our people's faith in the great principles of free government has spent its force, and the tide is ebbing fast. The theory that the white races are necessarily superior to those whose skins have a richer hue and that white men, therefore, have a divine mission to conquer and govern all others has been rudely shattered. More recent experience has discredited the belief that white men can govern yellow, brown and black men better than they can govern themselves. The schemes for the partition of Asia among the great powers of Europe are indefinitely postponed. Government by might the world over totters to its fall.

When the armies of Russia were defeated in battle after battle, when Port Arthur, that impregnable stronghold, was taken, and finally when the Russian fleet was overwhelmed in the straits of Japan, the superstition that yellow men are inferior to white, that Asiatics are not in every way equal to Europeans, received its death blow. "The dwarfs with the faces of baboons and the brains of monkeys," as the Russians contemptuously called them, have brought Russia to its knees.

Not only has Japan freed Asia from the peril of Russian

tyranny; it has emancipated the Russians themselves. The most powerful autocracy in the world, fortified by the traditions of centuries, controlling an enormous and subservient army, ruling a people poor, ignorant, disorganized and abjectly submissive, inspiring terror at home and abroad, possessing every thing that can place tyranny beyond the reach of disaster, has been forced to surrender its authority, and to recognize that even its power cannot endure without the consent of the governed. Whether the Russian revolution terminates like the French in a frenzy of terror and bloodshed, or whether the evil results of long oppression on every class in Russia can be remedied by peaceful legislation, we are not wise enough to tell, but when the Czar of all the Russias admits that he cannot govern his people without their consent, no man can hope and no man need fear that government by brute force will endure anywhere.

The oppression of many years with all the blood that has been shed to maintain order in Warsaw has not extinguished the spirit of freedom in Poland. Finland has recovered its ancient constitution. Norway peacefully resumes its independence. The tie which subjects Hungary to Austria is strained to the breaking point. Everywhere the movement of men is towards popular rights and national independence. In our own country the campaign against the equal rights of men has been arrested in Maryland. The best men in the South are rousing themselves to oppose the monstrous doctrine that the remedy for colored ignorance and brutality is to keep the whole colored race ignorant and brutal, to deny them the rights, opportunities and education of white men—in a word, that the way to lift them up is to keep them down.

The world is beginning to think, and the ancient standards of right and wrong again assert themselves.

“Great captains with their guns and drums  
Obscure our judgment for the hour,  
But at length silence comes.”

and in that silence we hear the still small voice which ever teaches that all men are brothers.

At a time like this when the whole world is moving towards freedom, does it not seem passing strange that this great country, the apostle of freedom, should persist in setting an example

of tyranny; that we should take from another people the right to govern themselves in their own country, establish over them a government in which they have no voice, deny them the protection of any constitution, and rule them absolutely without their consent? Is the Land of the Free the last country in which a universal movement for freedom is felt? There are those who would have us think that the cause of Philippine independence is lost, as their fathers would have led men to believe that slavery was a divine institution and destined to endure in this country. We do not believe it. We have not lost faith in our countrymen. The independence of the Philippines is assured. What are the signs of the times?

#### THE ADMITTED DESIRE OF THE FILIPINOS FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Certain disputed propositions are now finally settled. We no longer hear that only a part of the Filipinos, a few self-seeking agitators desire independence, while the rest are content with American rule, and that were it not for anti-imperial pamphlets and speeches the talk of independence would die out. It is now admitted that the whole Filipino nation is united in demanding independence. They have tried benevolent assimilation for seven years of pestilence and famine, and they do not like it. War, even the extreme severities of General Smith and General Bell, water cure and like tortures, reconcentration, repeated and persistent, punishment in every form have all been tried faithfully, but still the Filipinos do not love us. They are strangely like the Italians, whom the cruelties of Austria only stimulated, like the Dutch who refused to be crushed by the methods of Alva, like the Poles, like the Greeks, like the Irish, like every other race of human beings, for history teaches that oppression always and everywhere fosters the love of freedom.

The evidence on this point is overwhelming.

The Filipino Republican party, by authority of its president, issued on August 5th last a manifesto in which after expressing gratitude to the Americans and reverence for President Roosevelt and Secretary Taft, and after thanking the latter for his insistence "that the Philippines shall be for the Filipinos, . . . . But we firmly and sincerely believe that these pregnant words will remain merely vain promises—since in practice even the constitutional guarantees are illusory in this country—until such time as independence under an



American protectorate shall be definitely established in the archipelago."

On the 29th of August, in a crowded hall largely filled with the best Filipinos, "The Committee of Philippine Interests" presented a petition to the visiting Congressmen in which they stated "that the general desire of the Filipino people is to possess independent national existence as soon as possible, and asked Congress at once to declare that this will be granted, and that "to assure this independence either the Philippine Islands may be declared neutral territory or else be placed under a protectorate of the United States."

Another petition, presented at the same time, signed by leading Filipinos, was an admirable argument for immediate independence, and concluded: "By all that we have expressed, and relying upon the justice of the American nation, we petition the Congress of the United States of North America in the name of the Filipinos for the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands with declaration of perpetual neutrality."

These petitions were followed by speeches in which the unanimous desire of the Filipino people was vigorously expressed. The visitors were convinced that these speakers truly represented their people. Thus we find in the Boston Transcript, to which no anti-imperialist for years has looked for sympathy, a letter written by James A. Leroy, formerly secretary of a Philippine Commissioner and a member of the Taft party, in which he says:

"It need not be said here again, as it is now admitted by all who know the situation in the Islands, that independence is the ideal of nearly all Filipinos."

And this statement was made under date of August 13, two weeks before the petitions from which I have quoted were presented.

Congressman Parsons, another member of the Taft party, and a strong Republican, writes to the Tribune:

"There is no question that all the Filipino parties are now in favor of independence."

I might quote indefinitely—not to prove that the Filipinos desire independence, they have proved that by their long struggle against us—but to prove that their desire is openly asserted and its existence no longer denied.



It is apparent next that all our efforts to govern other people as subjects have failed, as well when they have submitted peacefully as when they have resisted bitterly. I need not speak of Indians or Negroes. Theirs are "ancient tales of wrong." Let me deal only with our latest efforts in the light of this new century.

What says Hawaii. Let me quote the words of Henry E. Cooper, who was prominent in the revolution, has been acting governor and attorney general and who continues to be a leader in the affairs of the Islands, but does not like the result of his labors. He says:

"Hawaii was an exceptionally prosperous little country just before American absorption, its people were happy and contented, there were ideal trade relations with the United States, which resulted in our spending with American merchants from \$25,000,000 to \$30,000,000 annually, and we had an abundance of cheap and efficient labor. This was the state of affairs in 1896. . . . Today, while we have no scarcity of capital in Hawaii, nobody wants to borrow money, for the uncertainty and instability of our conditions has paralyzed all business enterprise. Honolulu has lost 700 inhabitants within a recent period and numbers of people have abandoned their homes. Nobody will invest a dollar in any new business, and curtailment is the watchword. Unless there is a radical change in the near future, we shall see the grass growing in the streets of Honolulu and people of means will, at no distant day, be subsisting on fish and poi."

He is not the only American who has found the conditions after the revolution changed distinctly for the worse, and who has wished that the islands were again independent.

Porto Rico is thoroughly discontented. On July 25, seven years from the day when our army landed in Porto Rico, a meeting of delegates from sixty-five out of the sixty-six municipalities of Porto Rico met in San Juan at the invitation of Mr. Todd, the American mayor of the city, and addressed a petition to the Congress of the United States. Let me quote a few sentences from it.

"Seven years ago today, the twenty-fifth of July, the American army invaded this country by the port of Guanica. We knew the history and tradition of your country, we knew that

the flag of your nation forever floated over worthy homes and dignified communities; the landing of your soldiers meant to us the further enlargement of the horizon of our public life.

Shortly before that time the nation that discovered this country—having theretofore granted to the inhabitants of Porto Rico the same political rights as to the inhabitants of the Spanish peninsula—had acknowledged the principle of self-government in our local administration, and it was natural, therefore, that we should have felt confident that the invading nation would not lessen the scope of that principle, especially in view of your own declaration that the war of 1898 was waged for the purpose of liberating countries which were being ruled over by tyranny.

\* \* \* \* \*

In opposition to the most simple principles of political law obtaining, without a single exception, in countries under a parliamentary system of government, such as France or Great Britain, or under a representative system such as that of your own country, the legislative and executive powers are merged in the Executive Council, the majority of which, composed of the six heads of departments, heretofore Americans, are the arbiters in the passage of our laws. Then they apply the law by themselves, modify it at times, and at other times repeal it, as was the case on the third day of June of this year, on which date the Appropriation Act, passed and approved March 9, 1905, was partly repealed. And it was so repealed exclusively by the American members of the Council against the vote of the Porto Ricans. Thus the six Americans appointed by the President have had greater power than the thirty-five representatives of the Island in the House of Delegates and the five Porto Rico members of the Council; in other words, they have had more power than the whole people of Porto Rico.

\* \* \* \* \*

Pray, grant unto this country all legislative authority and at the same time all responsibility. We cannot accept that public officers be sent to Porto Rico who, as a general rule, are unacquainted with the language, the customs, and the needs of this country, and within twenty-four hours after their arrival take their seats in the Executive Council and decide by their votes complicated and transcendental questions. We desire that the opportunity heretofore denied to us be given that we may show

that we are now capable of self-government. Our commonwealth has an old civilization of its own; we have shown our estimation and respect for the laws; we worked out the problem of the abolition of slavery within the most perfect normal bounds; we have met without disorder most terrible financial crises. We know ourselves, we fully know our needs and we are fully convinced that we can successfully manage our own affairs.

\* \* \* \* \*

You have been memorialized firstly and at divers times by the Republican party; you were memorialized by the Federal party, now dissolved; you were recently memorialized by the majority in the House of Delegates in a House Memorial addressed to you; but today it is not part of the people, but the whole of the people who address you. And as the people's faith is in you, and as the people expect from you a generous act, and as the people find, to their surprise, that they are being driven to feel anti-American, they appeal to you, to the only power that may save them in this supreme conflict, and rest in the certainty that they will be treated as one who confidently, friendly and respectfully presents himself, though dignified and firm, asking for an undeniable act of equity and justice."

On the 12th of August the teachers of Porto Rico, in mass meeting assembled, also addressed Congress. They begin:

"Among the social classes of Porto Rico there exists a profound disgust. It finds daily echo in our public press, and it is known throughout the Latin nations of the western hemisphere.

We, the school teachers of Porto Rico, congregated in assembly, have resolved to submit to the consideration of the American people and the United States Congress that state of affairs. This we consider our right as citizens; this we consider our duty as school teachers of the Island."

They continue:

"The two supreme aspirations which are paramount in the mind of the Porto Rican public opinion are both just and generous, as they concur in the letter and spirit with the American constitution. Either Porto Rico should become a state of the Union, or it should be made an independent nation, like Cuba."

They say further:

"None can speak with higher authority than can we to the American people. Porto Rico suffers; Porto Rico is tired of her imposed government and wants justice done. The big

seems bigger when it renders justice to the small. The small seems big when it fights for its rights.

Our main need is to know definitely which political status shall be bestowed upon us. This uncertainty kills our efforts, and it is quite harmful to public education.

\* \* \* \* \*

Our pupils are learning in your own history to detest the colonial regime, and Porto Rico is recognized as a colony by the great nation which prides herself with a glorious history. Deep is the abyss yawning between our system of public education and our insular government.

And it should be to the advantage of the American interests that our status be rendered consistent with our teachings."

That general discontent prevails in this island is confirmed by private advices from various sources\*. The Spanish population despise and dislike the Americans, and the latter look down upon and dislike the Spanish. They are drifting apart, and it is easy to imagine why, if we will only suppose their positions reversed.

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\*NOTE.

A letter has been received in this country from Mayor R. H. Todd, of San Juan, P. R., dated November 14, in which he considers the insular situation in the light of the memorial to Congress in favor of a larger measure of home rule, which was unanimously adopted last July by the convention of Porto Rican municipalities. Mayor Todd writes to his American correspondent as follows:—

I hope to be in New York, on my way to Washington, the first week in January, and I will communicate with you with a view of asking your advice regarding the work which I am about to do in Washington to further the petition embodied in the memorial. If the Porto Ricans are not entitled to what they ask for in said memorial, it would have been better for them that the change of flag had not taken place. When your soldiers landed at Guanica on the 25th of July, 1898, the only things Spanish in Porto Rico were the flag and the captain general. The Porto Ricans had control of the administration of affairs, and in every important position of trust there was a Porto Rican. Today, after seven years of American control, a Porto Rican is a nobody in his own country, and if he dares to criticise those acts which he considers to be against the welfare of his country, he is branded as an Anti-American agitator.

Of course, the Porto Ricans are trained in the right of petition, and we will address Congress again and again for what we think is our due, until we get what is ours. At first we thought we would be treated with some more respect and we decided to wait. We are a community of a million inhabitants; our language, our customs, our civilization are entirely different from yours; and all these considerations together should have counseled you to select with extra care the men who were to be sent down here to teach us the science of government. The feeling of disgust, which is unanimous, shows plainly that you have failed in your task. If we were to follow in the footsteps of those who have been our teachers in the art of government, we would have to do things which our standard of right and justice and decency tells us to be wrong. The demands set forth in the memorial are plain and simple. We want self-government. We sustain the theory that no man, that no set of men, can successfully govern a foreign country;

The Porto Ricans are proud and cannot endure the denial of recognition as citizens. Their commissioner speaks reasonably when he says:

"It is only a matter of sentiment, and for granting it the United States will lose nothing, as if we were citizens we could not vote on Federal matters or have any hand in the affairs of the Nation. Citizenship should have been granted with civil government. The two go hand in hand. With citizenship we would be more respected abroad and there would be other advantages, but we are insisting on citizenship as a matter of pride. What are we now? Citizens of no country at all! We are even denied the right of naturalization. The most ignorant, worthless European emigrant has more advantage than we."

How is it with the Philippines?

#### CONTINUED RESISTANCE IN THE PHILIPPINES.

A year ago during the Presidential campaign we were assured that tranquillity was established, that "all the rights contained in the bill of rights in the Constitution of the United States except the right to bear arms and the right to trial by jury" were "secured to every man, woman and child among the Christian Filipinos."

What are the facts as we gather them from official sources? Let me quote from first the report of General Carter, commanding the Department of the Visayas, for the year from July 1, 1904, to July 1, 1905, which first saw the light in this country late in August, 1905. His report is dated July 1, 1905, and his last report was probably dated July 1, 1904. He says:

"Within a few days after the rendition of the annual report for last year a serious outbreak occurred in the Gandara Valley, Samar. This was followed by disorders in all the other large islands of the department, Negros, Panay, Cebu and Leyte. The ordinary ladrone element, reinforced to some extent from

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foreign in language, in customs and in civilization. We claim further that no country in America can be free and happy if its people is denied the blessings of the age; namely, a full measure of self-government. We hope to get the support of every good American in our demands. We hope still further that we will be able to convince the American people that we can be entrusted with the government of our own country, with the certainty in advance that we will succeed in our enterprise, and with the still further assurance that we cannot do it any worse than our present distinguished local administration. I have extended this letter more than I intended, and will close with the request that you give us your valuable aid in our demands, which are based on justice and right.



the idle and criminal classes, was responsible for the troubles in the last named islands."

Let me pause here and note first that it was only in the last four islands, not in Samar, that the ladrone element was responsible for the troubles. In Samar it was apparently an uprising of the people.

Let me note in the second place the phase "the ladrone element *reinforced to some extent from the idle and criminal classes.*" We have been taught to believe that ladrones were robbers, vicious, lawless people who lived by plundering the community, but it seems that ladrones do not belong to the criminal classes, and this name is used as other governments use the word "rebel" to describe an unsuccessful patriot.

Gen. Carter's report is long, but it tells of an insurrection which spread all over the island of Samar, and at the date of his report he says :

"The end is not in sight, for the repulses in northern and eastern Samar have resulted in the transfer of Pulajane operations to the southwest coast." It proved too strong for the constabulary, and the troops were called in "after nine months of constant and severe field service."

General Carter gives a list of thirty-eight encounters in which on the side of the government there were about eighty-six casualties, two lieutenants being killed and one lieutenant and two privates being wounded from the troops, the other casualties being among the Philippine constabulary and scouts, and of these about sixty-five were killed. On the native side 441 officers and men were killed, eleven were wounded and ninety-five taken prisoners, of whom forty-seven were taken by one detachment of scouts. The report indicates that the number of wounded was thought in some cases to be large, but only eleven wounded are reported as definitely known, while there are ominous entries like seventy-four killed and no wounded or prisoners, and again, four officers and ninety privates are killed, with no wounded and only six prisoners. In the last affair on the side of the government only two privates were wounded and a guide killed. This was the result of a charge with fixed bayonets into a camp which was taken by surprise, when, according to the report, the troops "engaged in a hand to hand conflict with a largely superior force, and the fight lasted about thirty

minutes." To describe such an affair as "a conflict" requires imagination.

Early in his report the General says:

"Whatever may have been the original cause of the outbreak it was soon lost sight of when success had drawn a large proportion of the people away from their homes and fields," a statement which seems to indicate ignorance as to why the people rose. This does not, however, prevent the General from saying later, "The Pulajane insurrection is absolutely without any political significance whatever," as is uniformly the official view.

When we remember that the people of Samar had been so lately and so terribly scourged by Smith and Waller, that they had been so thoroughly taught their own weakness and the terrible warfare which Americans can wage, that they were so absolutely stripped of arms, that General Carter, in speaking of two skirmishes in which one American officer, two hospital corps men and forty-two native scouts were killed and ten men were wounded, says: "The serious nature of these reverses was not wholly in the losses of men, but in the loss of arms and ammunition, of which the Pulajanes were in great need," we may well ask what it was that drove this feeble people to brave again all that the power of the United States could inflict. Men are not lightly goaded to desperation, and when we learn that not only Samar but all the other islands in the group were also the scenes of simultaneous insurrection, there must have been some strong reason, some intolerable misgovernment which drove them to certain ruin and death rather than suffer longer. This is the tranquillity of which Secretary Taft boasted a year ago, but bear in mind that though this revolt was in active operation during the whole Presidential campaign, no hint of its existence reached the United States then or for eleven months afterward. Not even yet have we any reasonable explanation—either the government does not know what caused the trouble, or it does not tell. In any event the people of the United States—charged with the duty as we are told of governing this people—are not allowed to know when trouble besets their subjects. Our imperialist rulers will neither trust the Filipinos to govern themselves nor the American people to govern them. Secretary Taft and a few others alone possess the wisdom to deal with this problem. Alas! on how few lives does the fate of this unhappy race depend!



## RECONCENTRATION.

Nor is this all. On July 4, 1902, President Roosevelt declared the war in the Philippines at an end and issued his proclamation of amnesty. Then "tranquillity" had been fully established. In the year 1902 reconcentration was used to suppress insurrection in Laguna and Batangas. It then affected not less than 100,000 people in camps holding from 8,000 to 14,000 people each, according to the official report of Col. Wagner. In 1903, when every Filipino had all the civil rights secured to an American citizen by the Bill of Rights save the right to bear arms and to trial by jury, 300,000 persons were driven from their homes into reconcentration camps in Albay, where very large areas were entirely denuded of population. 15,000 people in Tayabas suffered a like fate. In 1904 some 20,000 people in Samar and 16,000 in Cavite, close to the walls of Manila, were dealt with in like manner. In the current year, 1905, reports reach us of like operations. We hear from Bakoer that "its unfortunate reconcentrated people, the inhabitants of the districts of Ligas and St. Nicholas, a pleasant land situated by the sea-side, are subjected to vigorous surveillance, not allowed to walk abroad with impunity, obliged to snatch their sleep in motley heaps of men, women and children, exposed by night and day to the elements" and every hardship which the terrible word "reconcentration" implies. Like reports come from Batangas, but these find no place in the dispatches from the Philippine Islands. We learn the facts from the Manila press.

Imagine three hundred thousand people charged with no crime taken from their homes anywhere in America because the government wished to catch a gang of robbers. Would no constitutional right be invaded by such a process? What a mockery it is to claim that the Filipinos are secured in their civil rights when such barbarities are common. Secretary Taft is a good lawyer. Let him reconcile these facts with his claim.

My figures are unofficial because no official figures are furnished. When the British in time of war applied reconcentration in South Africa a blue book issued every month informed the British people how many camps were established, where they were, how many men, women and children were in each, and what the mortality had been in each camp and in each class during the month. No similar record exists, as I am credibly informed, of what we have done in the Philippines, but if it

exists anywhere it has never been disclosed to the American people. Our leaders have not dared to tell us the truth.

And they have good reason to fear. The truth is fatal to their cause. What is reconcentration? When Spain in the midst of war resorted to it President McKinley said: "It was not civilized warfare," but "a new and inhuman phase happily unprecedented in the modern history of civilized Christian people." By a curious coincidence he is speaking of its application to 300,000 people, just the number who suffered by it in Albay last year, and he concludes, "It was extermination. The only peace it could beget was that of the wilderness and the grave," a "wilderness" such as General Smith sought to make of Samar. The people of the United States were roused to interfere, and made war upon Spain. While President McKinley hesitated to adopt this remedy for cruelties perpetrated by a Spanish commander, Theodore Roosevelt said, as we are told:

"The steps of the White House are slippery with the blood of the reconcentrados."

This "civilized Christian people" has hastened to adopt the barbarous practice which in 1898 was unprecedented. It has outdone Spain by employing it in times of reputed peace, and on a larger scale than was ever known in Cuba. The exceptional cruelty of Spain has become the regular practice of the United States. Did the blood shed in Cuba when Weyler was in command stain the steps of the White House, and that which is shed by the army which Theodore Roosevelt commands leave no spot on his own threshold? Let him reflect that race murder is worse than race suicide. When the President has abated the evils of football, over which he has only the influence of an eminent citizen, perhaps he will find time to check the barbarism of men over whom he has absolute control.

#### THE CONSTABULARY.

Charges of torture inflicted by the constabulary to extort testimony with names and circumstances have been printed in the newspapers of Manila, and on July 25th last I wrote a letter to the President calling his attention to these charges and to the accounts of reconcentration. In time I received a reply from the Bureau of Insular Affairs advising me that my letter would be sent to the Philippine Islands for investigation and report, and that I should be informed of the result. Since then I have heard nothing, and I cannot say more than that torture

is openly charged and that the prosecution of editors for libel in printing the charges has been in progress for some time.

✓ Mr. Leroy, whom I have already quoted, says on this subject:

"Of all the departments of government wherein race prejudice is exhibited toward the Filipinos and the Americans employed are of the least cultured and most intolerant sort, the constabulary is by far the worst. Many non-commissioned officers of the regular army, of scant education, poor manners and a contempt for the natives imbibed during their service in the army, have been made officers of the Philippine constabulary. Too often the so-called Filipino officials of the corps are men of so large a share of Spanish blood, former non-commissioned officers in the Spanish insular army or civil guard, that they are decidedly hostile to the Filipinos and are hated by the people, being identified with the Spanish side of internal strife in the past. The secret police, again, is largely recruited from men who turned informers in behalf first of Spain and then of the United States, spies upon their own people; this fact is in itself enough to disqualify them for service under a new civil government, but they are in addition, in a very considerable proportion of cases, disreputable characters of the worst sort, who keep out of jail only by serving the government. Many of the soldiers of the constabulary rank and file are of the same class of informers, spies and other former servants of the American military government who have frequently their private vengeance to pay, and do not scruple to do so under the cover of the terror which their uniform inspires. Worse yet, the hands of certain of the Filipino constabulary subordinates do not seem to be clean of torture in getting and arraying witnesses for the government in this case. The charges, indeed, go to the extreme of instancing one case of murder committed by a file of soldiers after seizing a humble Filipino who refused to testify to what he was ordered to say, as is so often the case with witnesses on both sides of a trial in the Philippines."

He condemns the government for the prosecution which I have just mentioned, saying, "Worse things have occurred than this paper has ever printed."

#### THE COURTS IN THE PHILIPPINES.

He criticises the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus, and hints that the judiciary has not been free from executive inter-

ference, a charge which is sustained by evidence from private sources. Certain it is that Secretary Taft felt that this charge could not be ignored, for in a speech at Manila on August 12th he said:

"It is said that the trials in the courts of first instance are too much a matter of executive regulation, and that the defendants do not receive justice" . . . and proceeds, "Speaking of my personal and intimate acquaintance derived from close investigation I am able to say that I think no case can be successfully established in which there was an undue interference on the part of the executive." This is a careful statement in a careful speech. No case can be proved of "*undue interference*." Who shall decide what is "undue interference"? Here is no denial that there was interference only that no interference "undue" in the Secretary's opinion can be established. Is this merely from lack of evidence?

He proceeds, "that there is under the present system an opportunity for such interference cannot, I think, be denied," and so great is the danger that he declares himself "strongly in favor" of giving the President alone the power to remove judges and then only for cause, and of giving to the court itself the power assigning judges to particular districts. In brief, he would take from the Commission power over the judiciary, and it is thus reasonably clear that he thinks it unsafe to trust them with the power which they now have.

#### THE CONDITION OF THE FILIPINO PEOPLE.

Economic conditions are very bad, as is abundantly shown by the testimony of leading planters and merchants, who from all parts of the Islands attended the public hearings given by the visiting Congressmen. Let me give you examples. A sugar planter of Iloilo says:

"Our situation at the present time is, therefore, a very deplorable one. Seven years of calamities, with a war and plagues, failures of crops, etc., have reduced us to a state of misery to such an extent that in many plantations of Negros and Panay the cultivation of sugar has been entirely abandoned. Owing to the low price secured by the farmer for his product during the past few years, a great many planters have been unable to meet their obligations and today are on the eve of losing their property. They are unable to get credit any longer. There are planters, both in the Island of Panay and

in that of Negros, who, having the deeds of their property in their hands, apply to the money lenders and to the bankers for a loan, offering to secure the loan by mortgaging their entire property, and are unable to secure even sufficient money to attend to their most pressing personal wants."

A tobacco planter said:

"There has never been as severe a crisis in the industry in the Philippine Islands as that which at present prevails. The Philippine tobacco industry in cigars has lost the markets of England, India and Australia on account of the duties imposed upon that article, and I wish to give these figures to prove my assertion. These figures refer to the exportation of manufactured tobacco. In the year 1901 it was 1,559,780 kilograms; in 1902, 1,063,069; in 1903, 1,235,257; in 1904, 705,827; and for the first six months of the year 1905, 149,828; and the proof of the decadence of the industry is that at the present day we have but ten per cent. of the number of women formerly employed in our factories and but fifty per cent. of the number of men."

Mr. Macleod, in behalf of the Manila Chamber of Commerce and the Ship Owners Association, read the report of a committee, of which he was one. Its character is indicated by the following passages:

"The country, generally speaking, is in a state of financial collapse. The agriculturists and merchants are passing through the worst crisis ever known in the annals of Philippine history. A series of calamities has contributed to bring the country to this deplorable state."

"Consequent on this ruined state, the farmers have had to borrow money to live on, money to plant their crops and cultivate their lands, and money to bring their harvests to market, so that almost the entire agricultural land throughout the Islands is mortgaged for more than its full value. Where the money has been advanced by the merchant or middleman who buys the produce the rate of interest has been eight per cent., which is considered moderate for this country, but where the farmer has had to have recourse to other sources, the usurer has taken advantage to charge anything from one to three per cent. per month, and the farmer has year by year sunk deeper into the mire.

As a natural sequence to the ruined state of the farmers, the merchants and middlemen who acted as bankers have lost many



millions by bad debts, and have still many millions outstanding of doubtful recovery. This has naturally turned all their paper profits into real and actual losses, so that, generally speaking, the commercial firms are a great deal worse off today than they were five years ago.

Second. Following on conditions such as above described, the country was by no means prepared to meet a tax on land already burdened by debt. The people, therefore, naturally felt very sore when the territorial tax was imposed, to pay which they had in most cases to raise money at usurious rates of interest. There is a provision in the law governing this tax whereby the Government may order the sale of the land for overdue taxes, and we are under the belief that this has happened in several cases where the owners were unable to raise the money. We are strongly of the opinion that the imposition of this tax and mode of procedure has caused and is causing much of the distress now prevalent throughout the Islands."

"We beg to draw attention to the necessity of revising the present internal revenue law. The tax of one third of one per cent. on sales falls unequally, and in the case of sales of native produce there is a clear discrimination against the middleman, who is one of the most useful and necessary members of the mercantile community in his capacity of banker and agent for the producer.

We consider the present taxation to be excessive for the producing power of the Islands. The amount raised for insular purposes alone is estimated at 23,000,000 pesos for the present fiscal year. This does not include municipal and other taxes which we have not been able to estimate.

Mr. Macleod, (interrupting the reading of the report). While we all appreciate the great improvements that are going to be brought about and have been brought about by the American government, and the policy they have been carrying out, the increase in the budget from what it was in Spanish times—from 13,000,000 pesos to approximately 30,000,000 pesos—has been too high; the country is not able to support it.

Senator Foster. Do you mean to say that the aggregate of taxation has raised from 13,000,000 pesos to approximately 30,000,000 pesos?

Mr. Macleod. Yes; the Spanish budget of 1894-95, which was the highest ever known in normal times, was 13,579,900 pesos.

Representative Hepburn. Did that include all of the exactions levied by the Spanish Government upon the people?

Mr. Macleod. Yes; I will give you a list of them."

"Third. Following the ruined state of the country and the present heavy taxation, it would be the last straw on the camel's back if the law known as the Frye bill were allowed to go into effect on the 1st of July, 1906. If the carrying trade between here and the United States be limited to American bottoms it simply means that the price of hemp will go down \$1 per bale for every dollar that freight goes up. It means that our sugar, already handicapped by being so far away from the principal consuming markets, will certainly not go to the United States; and it means the death stroke to the importation of American goods into these Islands."

This is certainly a pleasant picture of the results which American rule has produced in the Philippines. Truly it has been a most "benevolent assimilation." Have we a divine mission to establish bad government in the Philippines?

It is of the internal revenue tax that Prof. Paul S. Reinsch says, "Outside of Italy it would be hard to find a system of taxation that so efficiently scours the whole field of business. The merchants and professional men of a country like the United States would look upon it as a most unbearable burden." Yet Secretary Taft in a speech at Manila on August 8th, as reported in a dispatch published in the Boston Transcript, alluding to this tax, said that "people refusing just taxation were unfitted for self-government." Has the Secretary forgotten the causes of the American Revolution, or does he think that the question whether a tax is just is settled by the opinion of the men who impose it?

When I contemplate the miserable condition to which in seven years we have reduced the Filipino people, and contrast it with the prophecies of glory, wealth and power with which our leaders sought to still the public conscience when this betrayal of liberty was proposed, I am reminded of Mr. Emerson's comparison between the man-way and the God-way of attacking slavery.

"The man-way of voluntary co-operation by parties, by legislation, by compromise, by treaty," is, he says, "inefficient," and he points out the causes of the failure. Then he proceeds:

"But the friction or judgment of God. There is strangely



enough another element which does not prove so friendly to slavery as the Whig or fine gentleman party, and that is an unexpected hitch in the working of the thing. There's always something wrong in the machinery, it is out of gear . . . with everything for it, it does not seem to get on."

#### THE CAUSES OF OUR FAILURE.

Why should our experiment succeed? If I may borrow the words which President Roosevelt aimed at us, the Administration has been guilty of "well meant but silly persistency in trying to apply to people unfitted for them those theories of government and of national action which are only suited for" Englishmen and Yankees. In a word, we have been trying to turn Filipinos into Yankees, palm trees into pines, by force. I agree that it is hopelessly foolish.

We have argued that it was wrong morally and politically, that it was ruinous to the Filipinos and demoralizing to us, that it was economically disastrous. Let me now ask an intelligent people whether on the whole anything could be more stupid than our whole course since we landed on these Islands.

The Filipinos welcomed us with open arms. There is a pathos now in this announcement of our coming. "Compatriots, Divine Providence is about to place independence within our reach . . . . There where you see the American flag flying assemble in numbers. They are our deliverers."

As our allies they helped us to expel the Spaniards, and they were full of affection and gratitude to us. We could easily have led them up. They would have accorded gladly every privilege we could have asked.

We elected to conquer, not to save. Our commanders were soon told to be on their guard, and to say nothing to commit us. When the fate of the Islands was uncertain we would not consult the friendly people. In vain they sent envoys to Washington, in vain they sought admission to the chamber where the treaty of Paris was made. They were treated not as men entitled to be consulted about their own dearest interests, but as children to be ignored, amused and deceived. We repelled their love and betrayed their confidence. Whatever our object, was not this policy stupid?

Before the treaty was ratified President McKinley by proclamation made known to the Filipinos our purpose to take their country, a proclamation so certain to provoke resistance that

the general in command, a soldier not a statesman, was unwilling to publish it, and changed its terms. Consultation not merely with the Filipinos, but with our own representatives, a little patience, a little consideration, would have made this blow to a trusting people less brutal! Was not this stupid?

There followed two years and a half of war, exterminating war, with destruction of life, of towns, of crops, of animals, with reconcentration, "water cure," torture, and the drastic measures of Smith, Bell and their associates. It was not civilized warfare, few prisoners were taken, few wounded men were left after a battle. No negotiations for peace were entertained. The only terms were unconditional submission, the methods of securing this, which were employed by this Christian and enlightened nation were most terrible. Desiring to make the Filipinos loyal subjects, we tried in such ways to win their affection. Was not this brutally stupid?

Then we establish civil government. What was its character? A recent writer on Russia, thoroughly familiar with his subject, thus describes the government which is now falling in ruins:

"Arbitrariness is the sole dependable characteristic of the legislative and judicial systems; and this arises not so much from a double dose of original sin in the personnel of the administration, as from the absence of any real responsibility and of any of the guarantees enjoyed in other countries, firstly, through a constitution based upon personal rights, secondly, through a representative element in the legislature, and thirdly, through free criticism by the press, public meetings and organized associations." He adds the lack of "an independent judicature," and well says that the evils which exist in Russia are inherent in the system, and "would exist if the Tsar and his ministers were angels."

This is the exact government which we have established in the Philippines. There also is no "real responsibility," "no constitution" of any kind, no "representative element in the legislature," no "independent judicature." The two American editors, who without a jury trial were sent to prison for libel, could have much to say about the freedom of the press. The Commission is legislative and executive, and the essence of the system is "arbitrariness." Is it not stupid for us to make a new Russian despotism in the Philippines just as the original is shattered in Russia! Under such a system good government is

impossible anywhere. To criticise its results is not to reflect on those who administer it. The result would be the same if the Commissioners "were angels." The system is radically wrong.

Whom do we select to administer this system? As a people we recognize fully the necessity of education. To be a lawyer, a minister, a doctor, a plumber, a carpenter, a railroad manager, a manufacturer, a man must be trained for years. He cannot build a house, try a case, run a mill or even an engine without training. For the far more difficult task of governing men, foreigners, whose history, whose traditions, whose ideals, whose natures, are different from ours, we think that no training is necessary. We take a judge from the trial of law suits, a lawyer from his office, a naturalist from his study, a professor from his chair, any able man no matter what his work, and send him without previous experience, with no knowledge of country or people, with not even the ability to understand their language, and put him in immediate control of a nation. The difference between Americans and Filipinos is the whole argument of our opponents. Upon that they rest their case, and yet they cannot see that men should be trained to understand what this difference is before they are sent to govern.

Suppose five New York men were sent to govern Massachusetts. Should we not find them ignorant of our needs, our demands, our methods? Massachusetts and New York are inhabited by almost the same people, only an imaginary line divides them. Yet slight as the difference is we ourselves know how true is the statement of Mr. Adams, "New York politics always were the Devil's own incomprehensible." For the most difficult political work that exists we select men wholly without experience or training. We retain them there a few years and then change them, so that we keep our governors untrained, and the government is bad. Are we not stupid to expect anything else? If any of our commissioners were called upon to set a leg, or repair a watch we should expect them to fail because they had never learned how. Yet the government of an alien race is far more difficult than either. Can we be surprised that the Porto Ricans object "when public officials unacquainted with the language, the customs, and the needs of this country within twenty-four hours after their arrival take their seats in the Executive Council and decide by their votes complicated questions?"

Add to this that the men whom we send out to govern these dependencies, and their compatriots who are in the Islands, regard the natives as inferior, do not believe them, do not trust them, too often speak of them as "niggers" or with like terms of contempt, and tell me how it is possible that we should make our subjects contented. The governor who misunderstands and despises the people whom he governs, who does not believe their statements, who has no liking for or sympathy with them, cannot succeed, whether that governor is parent, teacher, general, or commissioner in the Philippine Islands. Is it surprising that race prejudice is daily growing more acute in these Islands, and that the Americans and natives are drifting farther and farther apart?

We say that we are fitting this people for independence, but we forbid them to speak or think of it. We tell them that generations must pass before they will be ripe for it. We say to men in their own country, whose rights are equal to our own, who feel their manhood, who know that they are able to govern themselves and to remedy the evils which afflict their country, "No matter what you think, we alone are fit to judge of your ability. Meanwhile you shall have no voice in your government save what we choose to give you."

The President well said in his letter to the Negro Business Men's Convention in New York, "It is as true of a race as of an individual that while outsiders can help to a certain degree, yet the real help must come in the shape of self-help. Men learn to be independent by being independent—by their own mistakes. Centuries of English rule in India have carried the Indians father from self-government. The President's statement is sound. No one can read history and doubt it. Why are we not wise enough to recognize the truth and act upon it?"

We teach the Filipinos English, the language of freedom. We open to them the history of our Revolution, our Declaration of Independence. We teach them to read in the speeches of Lincoln, "No man is good enough to govern another without that other's consent," and we expect them to be our contented subjects for generations, kissing the rod that smites them, enjoying the contempt which is heaped upon them, loving to be treated as an inferior people. How strange an expectation. I read in the Transcript, the other night, in an article on Russia this sentence:



"If the object of Russia has been to make a discontented people desperate, the methods have been well adapted to that end. Everything that could anger, everything that could humiliate, everything that worried the sensibilities of a population has been done."

Strange that our people should see so clearly what is wrong in Russia and not see that in the Philippines we are doing the same things.

✓ But we are giving them education and public improvements. Let us state this more accurately. We select teachers and make the Filipinos pay them to teach what we choose. We decide what improvements are needed, and we make the Filipinos pay for them. Our system is most expensive. Our officers are paid large salaries, and the impoverished Islanders cannot afford to pay them. We are like the rich man who tells his poor neighbor that he ought to have a larger house, better furniture newer clothes, horses and carriages and forthwith orders them, but has them charged to his neighbor without consulting him as to how these bills are to be met. It is a form of charity easy to the *soi-disant* benefactor, but ruinous to the unhappy neighbor who is compelled to sell his home in order to pay for these luxuries, and who would rather *live* in rags than *die* in shining raiment. If we insist upon teaching our subjects English we at least should pay the bill, but our benevolence is tinctured with thrift.

The American people prides itself on being intelligent and sensible. How long will it persist in a policy which is so obviously fatuous? How long will it force upon the unwilling Filipinos a government which has almost ruined their Islands, and which has cost us enormously both in money and reputation. We have succeeded only at frightful expense in proving that the historian Freeman was right when he said, "If there be one lesson which history clearly teaches it is this, that free nations cannot govern subject provinces." Why not learn this lesson ourselves?

#### THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES ARE WAKING UP. ✓

I am glad to say that the people are waking up to the facts. No longer do we hear of the wealth and glory which these Islands will bring us, no longer do we hear of duty and destiny. The burden has become heavy and we are weary of it. This is becoming every day more apparent. In April last Rear Ad-

miral Melville, in addressing the American Academy of Political Science, said:

"The first inheritance that was thrust upon us by some evil genius was the Philippine Archipelago. Those Islands have been a tax upon the resources of every nation that ever possessed them," and concluded, "It will subserve our financial, naval, commercial and national interests to recognize the fact that there should be no hesitancy to give up distant foreign possessions which we could not hold in time of war against any possible enemy."

The "Divine Providence" of 1898 has become "some evil genius" in 1905.

The Washington Post, speaking under the shadow of the White House, says: "So long as opposition could be urged against the Philippine feature of the Paris treaty it was in all respects honorable. We believe that *more than nine-tenths* of the American people greatly regret that failure of opposition to defeat the consummation of that unfortunate compact."

The Boston Watchman last summer said:

"Those who opposed the retention of the Philippine Islands were vilified with malignity, but there is no well-informed person in the United States at the present time, official or private, who does not realize that the retention of anything more than a port or ports in the Islands was a mistake. . . . They are poorer and more demoralized than under Spanish rule. . . . We may be obliged to come to the Dutch plan in Java and hold a few of the chief ports for trade, and leave the rest of the people to themselves."

The Peoria Star says:

"The truth of the matter is the mixed population of the Philippines cannot be assimilated with European ideas in one generation, probably not in ten. The sentiment of nationality will always induce them to resent the government by an alien race. As fast as we teach them the arts of civilized life, just so fast we transplant in them a desire for independence. They are already asking ugly questions in this very particular, and when we take our school books and teach them that all men are created free and equal and are entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, each in his own way, and that government must rest upon the consent of the governed, we are flying in

the face of the constabulary, the militia and the methods of benevolent assimilation that we are using.

There seems to be no other good way of accomplishing the result we are aiming at than to turn the whole thing over to Japan, where the government takes the problem of dealing with these mixed peoples and are on the spot and able to do. Of course, there is a good deal of flub-dub about never hauling down the flag after it has once been erected, and standing by our colors, and the moral duty which we owe to these heathens to bring them under the blessings of a Christian government, and the benefits we are conferring upon them in the way of education and all that, but the fact of it is we have a very ugly problem on our hands, and it is a matter of plain horse sense to rid ourselves of it as soon as possible and as fast as we can."

"Duty and destiny" have become "flub-dub." Think of it!

The Minneapolis Tribune says:

"The Philippines have been a burden of expense to us since they dropped in our lap. They will continue to be so for many years, perhaps forever. We bear the burden without much complaining, because it must be carried by somebody, and probably no one else would take it who is even as fit as we are. If any nation wise and experienced in tropical colonization would take the Philippines off our hands with proper compensations and guarantees, we should probably be the most delighted people on earth, though we should fight to the last breath against forcible seizure of them. We are beginning to realize that we are none too fit for the job of governing these queer people."

The Boston Herald says:

"It is true, we suppose, that the Philippine question has become a tiresome one to most Americans. The days when it was a simple affair of a glorious expansion of the dominion of the United States and hailed as the assurance of our arrival at the condition of a world power were soon over. Then came the days when the acquisition of the archipelago in the Pacific was gloated over as an opening to boundless wealth. . . . This was the prospect, operating in connection with military jingoism, that made the country consent to the horrors of the period of subjugation, demoralizing to our army and decimating the population of the distant possessions. . . . A war begun with the declaration that it was purely humanitarian and that the acquisition of territory by means of it would be "criminal



aggression," ended by a vast acquisition of territory without the consent of its inhabitants, for which we paid a bonus of \$20,000,000 to the government that we called their oppressors, although in the 400 years of its sway it had never punished or humiliated them more cruelly than we have done. The good bargain our commissioners made included not only the paltry \$20,000,000 paid to Spain. It included in the sequel the \$500,000,000, probably more, that has been spent in thwarting the Filipinos' aspirations for independence, and included also the wrench to and perversion of the historic charters and ideals of our own national life.

"It was a fearful price, and what have we got for it? A conquered, discontented, impoverished 8,000,000 of alien people, some of them still fighting against us and being slaughtered like grouse for the security of our dominion. All this we have done and are doing in a holy zeal to bestow on them the blessings of a form of partial self-government lacking the essential substance, and the blessings of American civilization, which they prefer to understand and adopt by their own study, in their own time and through a natural, unenforced development of their discretion. Meanwhile it has been proved that their country is not adapted to settlement by our citizens, and that our government of them is one of crushing extravagance as well as of arbitrary and uncongenial force. The Philippines today are not as prosperous nor as hopeful as they were under the sovereignty of Spain. Their trade with us, outside of the requirements of the American military and civil establishments maintained there, shows no important and useful increase. We strangle their commerce by our tariff exactions and smother their industry by an enormous taxation."

Senator Dubois, of Idaho, on his way home after returning from the Philippines with the Taft party, said: "My candid judgment is that there was not more than one member of the entire party who was not sorry that we own the Philippine Islands. The exception was Secretary Taft himself. I believe that he conscientiously entertains the view that the Islands were placed in our hands by Providence, and our occupation and control of them are for providential reasons.

"They are going to be a source of very serious trouble to us. The Filipinos hate us; the two peoples are growing farther apart every day. In my judgment the Filipino fears our soldiers at the same time that he is nursing his hatred. Our edu-

cation is calculated to equip them to hate us more than they fear us, and some day they will again begin to shoot our soldiers."

The Minneapolis Tribune, an imperialist paper, is also penitent:

"There is an argument against political expansion in the comparative history of the tropical countries annexed to the United States and those brought under its commercial and industrial dominion, while left to govern themselves.

"There is no more striking contrast than that between the prosperity of Cuba and the distress of Porto Rico, between the flourishing industries and commerce of Mexico and the stagnation and famine of the Philippines. We have given the Philippines a mild and stable government instead of revolutionary anarchy like that with which Mexico struggled for half a century. But few hope that our government will ever be able to give the Philippines such prosperity as independent American capital and enterprise has given to Mexico under the stable government finally worked out by the efforts of her own people.

"A far larger proportion of American capital is invested in Mexico than in any tropical American possession. Nearly sixty per cent. of Mexico's trade is ours, and the proportion has more than doubled in ten years. Under the stimulus of the gold standard Mexico's trade is rapidly increasing and nearly all the increment comes to us. American capital prefers Mexico to the Philippines because it is free there from restrictions imposed by ill-advised American laws. Had the Filipinos been left to establish a republic, it is probable that it would have been more hospitable to American investments than the government we gave them has been.

"The case is even plainer in Cuba and Porto Rico. The marvelous prosperity of Cuban industry and trade is due directly to American capital and enterprise, invited and encouraged by the government of the republic. The distress and depression of Porto Rico are just as plainly due to acts of American legislation that have repelled American capital and enterprise and left the unfortunate island without railroads or manufactures, energetic agriculture or employment for its people.

"Clearly the American government does not know much about administering colonial dependencies. For our credit and their comfort it is well that we have no more of them."

The bulletin of the Bureau of Insular Affairs is very candid.

"In fact, apart from the stimulus of patriotism—which is not to be accounted a very active force in things commercial—and the demand created in the Islands for American goods by the presence of army and civil employees of the government, the presence of the flag has thus far brought no special advantage to the American exporter, and such development of trade as he has effected in the Islands is more justly to be measured by the terms of trade expansion in a foreign country than under the glamor associated with the flag."

Bishop Brent praises Japan's government of Formosa, "both in its moral flavor and in considerateness for and understanding of the people of the island" as "the most advanced of all" eastern colonial governments and accounts for it thus: "But there you have orientals dealing with orientals," a confession that Asiatics can govern Asiatics better than Anglo-Saxons can.

Even in South Africa we are told that the mine owners find the government of England more expensive than the Boer government, which it cost England so much to destroy.

Last and most surprising comes Dr. Lyman Abbott rejoicing over the late treaty between England and Japan on the ground that "The East is to be no more the foraging ground of the West, to be divided up and disposed of without taking into account the rights or wishes of its people," which sounds much more like the Dr. Abbott whom we used to know than the lecturer who considered the "barbarian dog" a usurper in his own house, if "the Anglo-Saxon ox" wished to treat it as a crib. Saul shows at least a tendency to join the prophets. When he is off his guard he reverts to the truths he used to preach. These are very significant straws. "A fault confessed is half redressed." Our people are anxious to shift this lately coveted "white man's burden" to yellow or brown shoulders, and if this shift is to be made, upon what shoulders can the burden of the Philippines be placed so properly as upon the shoulders where the Almighty placed it, upon their own? Who can understand their needs so well?

#### WHY NOT CORRECT OUR MISTAKE?

If it was, as these writers admit, a mistake to take the Islands, why not undo it? If we had not taken them their inhabitants would have formed their own government. Spain had been expelled and if we had sailed away they must have governed

themselves, as indeed they were doing until we overthrew their government. Why should we not do now what we ought to have done then?

It cannot be claimed that it is impossible to do now what we could have done then. To say that is to admit that till now, so far from fitting them to be independent we have unfitted them; that our seven years have been worse than wasted. If this be so the sooner we stop the process of unfitting them the better. If the imperialist is right they are at least as fit now as they were then to govern themselves.

Let us have the courage to admit our mistake and undo it. An agreement with foreign powers easily made will secure them against foreign aggression, as Switzerland is secured. The method which we adopted in Cuba has proved successful. Why not follow a good precedent and not perpetuate a costly blunder ruinous to the Filipinos and demoralizing as well as expensive to us? We can if we will.

#### INVESTMENT IN THE PHILIPPINES IS UNSAFE.

Meanwhile let no American invest his money in Philippine enterprises because he believes that America will persist in a policy of injustice merely to protect his miserable dollars. No American, in office or out, can give any pledge which will bind the American people to hold these Islands for any length of time. He who invests does so at his peril, and must understand distinctly that at no distant day the conscience of his country will assert itself and will not hold millions of men in subjection that a few Americans may profit. The millions invested in slaves did not save slavery, and ere long we shall again ask in the burning words of Whittier:

"Is the dollar only real? God and truth and right a dream?

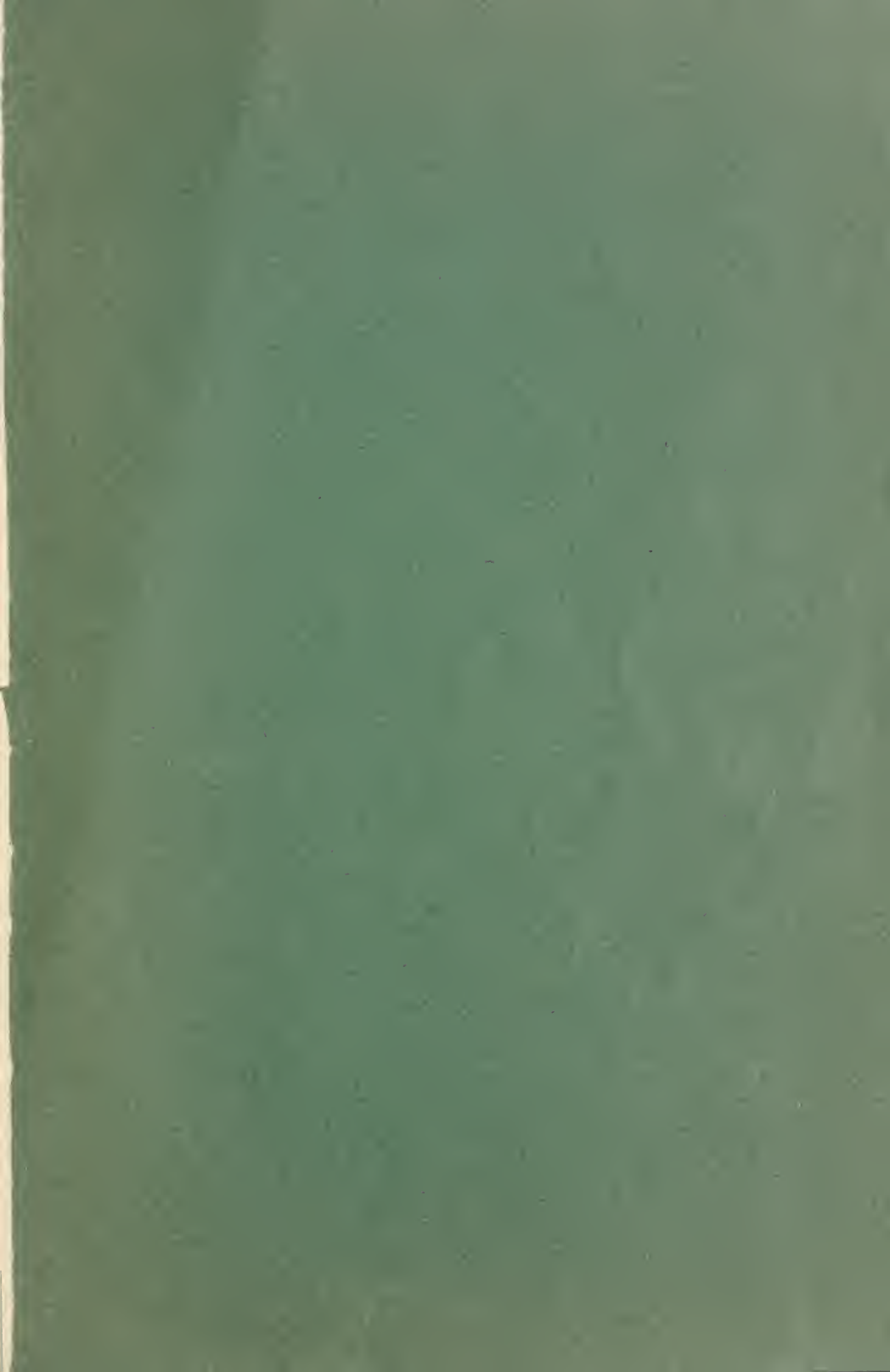
Weighed against your lying ledgers must our manhood kick the beam?"

And be sure that our answer will be a "No" as emphatic as the answer which we gave the same question in 1863.

How long must the Filipinos and our own countrymen alike suffer from our pride and obstinacy?

The dawn of freedom for the Philippines is breaking. Have patience and courage. We shall yet live to see the full day. This great nation will yet be more proud of having done an act of justice to their weaker brothers than if all the fabled wealth of the Orient were won by "criminal aggression."

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